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ABSTRACT

This paper examines themes in Maine history and literature related to the character of traditional Maine people, particularly coastal people, and their attitudes toward education. The historical survey touches upon early settlement, subsistence farming, frontiers in the woods and on the islands, influence of the sea and sailing, and influences of visitors and local residents who migrated between home and urban areas. Quotations from literary works illustrate the following themes in Yankee character: work ethic, thrift and miserliness, individualism and eccentricity, self-discipline and repression, love of the land and animals, and neighborliness and spite. As with so many other things, Mainers have held contrasting feelings about education. Education had practical value, and educated people were admired, but, on the other hand, education could interfere with a girl's chances of marrying or a boy's inclination to enter farming or sailing. From the 1880s to the present, rich outsiders have come to Maine as summer tourists, bought property, and employed the local people as servants. The Maine tradition of valuing people for their work conflicts with the dominant culture that values socioeconomic status. Working for summer people has eroded local people's confidence in their own worth and efficacy. The great increase in students, teachers, and administrators "from away" alienates traditional students, and they turn away from education that discounts their own culture. Families are reluctant to go into debt for higher education fearing that children will leave home. (SV)

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WIND TUNNELS

Themes in Maine Literature and Their Relevance to Schooling

Barbara Kent Lawrence
Directed Study : Summer, 1994

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FOREWARD

In reading for this paper, I have only opened the first few pages of a rich literature. Surveying Maine writing is daunting because there is so much to read. However, though this initial survey is limited in scope, certain themes are evident. Writers, both of fiction and non-fiction, record contrasting traits in Maine character, such as stinginess and generosity, repression and bawdy exuberance, conformity to tradition, individualism and tolerance of eccentricity. Other traits, such as independence and love of the land, seem without counterpoint. In this paper I will set the historical stage and illustrate recurring themes with examples from Maine literature, particularly of coastal communities between 1750 and 1900. Finally, I will examine ways in which both cultural traits and history impact schooling of students from traditional Maine families.

Maine History and Culture

There are many ways to divide the history of a people, but all are arbitrary. History, like the people who create it, flows in twisting rivulets which double back, meander, and plunge before joining as a river. From the confluence of recorded history, it is hard to determine the contribution of each drop of water : logs, journals, and stories about ordinary people give us useful evidence.

MAINE HISTORY:

Frederick Jackson Turner, n his essay written in 1920, "The Frontier in American History," identified the frontier as " the outer edge of the wave -- the meeting point between savagery and civilization" and noted that Maine retained a frontier spirit (Turner, 1962:3)." Turner added that Maine was marked by its frontier history. "That long blood-stained line of the eastern frontier which skirted the Maine coast was of great importance, for it imparted a western tone to the life and characteristics of the Maine people which endures (Turner, 1962:52)."

Turner saw Maine as part of the traditional frontier, although geographically it is an exception.

> That this movement of expansion had been chiefly from south to north, along the river valleys, should not conceal from us the fact that it was in essential characteristics a Western movement, especially in the social traits that were developing. Even the men who lived in the long line of settlements on the Maine coast, under frontier conditions, and remote from the older centers of New England, developed traits and a democratic spirit that relate them closely to the Westerners, in spite of the fact that Maine is "down east" by preeminence.
>
> Turner, 1962: 79

Traces of what Turner saw in 1920 remain today, though little remains of the actual frontier.

Turner noted that "the frontier promoted the formation of a composite nationality for the American people. The coast was preponderantly English, but the later tides of continental immigration flowed across to the free lands... In the crucible of the frontier the immigrants were Americanized (Turner, 1962:22)." In Maine, this crucible further homogenized people from similar origins, which may help explain why traditional Mainers are still so similar in outlook and ethnicity.

The frontier also represented a "simpler" way of life, one that attracted travelers such as Thoreau, who understood the rigors of life in Maine only dimly. In much of the writing about Maine, particularly after the period of "rustication" in the late 1880s (perhaps not coincidentally the time Frederick Turner saw the American frontier closing), we find hints of the nostalgia that still clouds the visitor's view of Maine. The Maine frontier closed officially when public lands sold out to private interests, primarily the paper companies (Barringer, 1989:7)." However, large tracts still offered seemingly limitless land, relatively unfettered by the impact of authority.

"In identifying the impact of frontier consciousness upon the development of Maine literature, [Henry] Beston wrote:

> ...those who would understand the particular quality of Maine must first, perhaps, take thought of these elements of the frontier. The frontier , of course, refers not only to the geographical wilderness which confronted the first Maine settlers and authors, but also to a state of mind. The frontier was a metaphor that encompassed vision of human potential thriving in pristine woodlands. These surroundings, it was thought, would return man both to nature and to a pastoral state of innocence. From literary perspective the frontier metaphor evokes a string of connections which transcend the local and particular: the early Maine writers were not alone in

> equating the New World with promise, paradise, Utopia, or kingdoms teeming with evidence of the divine.
>
> Lecker, 1982: xvii

We see echoes of this theme in both fiction and non-fiction as the mystique of Maine endures. Maine continues to trade on these myths, attracting many visitors and summer residents who want to buy utopia, even if only for a week.

1607 - 1820: Settlement to Statehood

Colonization of Maine began when Ferdinand Gorges tried to establish a settlement in Sagadahoc in 1607. This attempt to settle what was then called Northern Virginia failed because the sponsors died, not because the location proved inhospitable. However, real settlement did not begin until the early 1700s, when colonists began to strike out from more populated Massachusetts to find unoccupied land. The fact that the land belonged to native peoples did not seem to bother the settlers; or at first, the Native Americans who did not understand that allowing whites to use their land meant they were no longer welcome to use it themselves.

Friction over land use and between European powers culminated in the French and Indian Wars of 1675 - 1763, which delayed colonization, as "no habitation was for any length of time safe from the flames, and no person from plunder, captivity or death. In this hazardous situation the people of Maine continued for a long time (Shain, 1991:54)." In fact, the General Court in Boston commanded that Maine function as a frontier buffer zone.

> In a notorious piece of legislation passed on July 1, 1701, entitled 'An Act to Prevent the Deserting of the Frontiers of This Province,' Kittery, York and Wells were included among 21 border towns from

> which the inhabitants were forbidden to relocate without permission. Failure to obey led to forfeiture of all property or a L10 fine for those who had no property.
>
> Rolde, 1990: 71 + 72

The danger of living in a buffer zone deterred many men like Abraham Somes who waited until cessation of hostilities to move to Mount Desert Island. For a long time, the rocky , thin soil in Maine was not considered worth farming. However, the population slowly increased. The French and Indian War and the Revolutionary War may have, in fact, increased the population, as soldiers who had come to protect the frontier remained , attracted in large part by the availability of land. Some veterans of the Revolution received land in Maine in lieu of bonuses.

ABRAHAM SOMES : The first settler on Mount Desert Island

Virginia Somes-Sanderson recounts the story of Somesville, on Mount Desert Island, founded in 1761 by Abraham Somes just after the French and Indian War.

> This small settlement further is a prototype of the many seacoast communities which rose to importance and prosperity in the eighteen hundreds and then declined as the way of life changed and their offerings were no longer needed or desired. Often they lost their identity. This was true of Somesville.
>
> Sanderson, 1982:1

The head of a natural fjord later called Somes Sound attracted Abraham Somes as an ideal place from which to harvest trees and locate a homestead. The virgin forests provided a rich source of pine and the marshes offered salt hay, a nutritious feed for animals.

Though officially under the aegis of Governor Bernard of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, Somes was left undisturbed as the "agitations" in Boston dominated the governor's attention. By 1764, nineteen other families had joined Somes, all " settled under no Authority at all" ,but Governor Bernard did not think there were "above one hundred fifty families in all the townships of Maine." By 1776 "there were between 75 and 100 men on Mount Desert Island alone (Sanderson, 1982:47). In 1772 the population of Maine is estimated to have been 30,000 but by 1820 it had grown to about 300,000. " The state became a magnet for settlers from the southern New England states, where established communities were becoming overpopulated (Barringer, 1989:6)."

Turner stated that the frontier spirit moved western states to push for statehood. The same is true of Maine, and it is a testament to Maine's status as a frontier that the state was not created until March 15, 1820. The twenty-third state to be accepted into the union, Mainewas paired with Missouri. By geography alone one would have expected Maine , positioned on the coast, to be incorporated into the union much earlier. It was a credit to Maine's democatic spirit that ownership of property was not a requirement for voting, as it was in Massachusetts.

1820 - 1900

John Carroll: subsistence farmer

In the early 1800s, enormous changes created a very different type of life on Mount Desert Island and in other coastal communities. No longer was the coast a frontier. By the early 1836 Somesville was the economic center of the island, boasting :

> ...a saw mill, a shingle mill, a lathe mill, a grist mill, a woolen mill, a tan-yard, a bark mill, a shoe-maker's shop, two ship yards, two blacksmith shops, two stores...By 1870, there had been added a stave mill which provided material for barrels and casks into which dried, smoked and salted alewives, cod and herring were packed for shipment to Boston in one of the Somes schooners. Smoke house along the shore had multiplied....
>
> Somes-Sanderson, 1982: 185

Though no longer a frontier, the Maine coastal demanded courage and industry.

We have an example of the life of subsistence farmers in the story of John Carroll and his family, who settled on land near Southwest Harbor, creating a homestead they called "The Mountain House." Carroll emigrated to Newfoundland from Ireland on May 24, 1814, but headed south to work in the rebuilding of Washington, DC after the British burned it in the War of 1812. He was transferred in exchange for a coastal pilot and went to Mount Desert Island with the ship's captain, Captain Manchester. He stayed and later married and established his "Mountain House."

Like Abraham Somes , John Carroll built his house with tools he made, cleared his land, and dug his own well. The degree of self-sufficiency the Carrolls and other subsistence farmers achieved is amazing, even more extraordinary when one realizes that men were often away from home for long periods of time, working on ships and construction. Often women accomplished even the heavy work demanded on a farm.

The Mountain House was one of thousands of subsistence farms in Maine, "depending upon its own resources for most of the family's needs... The Carrolls augmented their economic activities with fishing, logging, and masonry. Only one, Jacob, went to sea (Raup, 1993: 4)."

Lura Beam describes her grandparents who fit this same mold.

> Both represented well the pioneer Englishmen who had settled the Maine area...They now seem to me to have been stubbornly British in character and temperament, like figures out of Thomas Hardy.. They were the eighth generation from the first English ancestor who came to Massachusetts, and the fourth from the first settled in this Maine spot. They still lived on the original land grant given the settlement by the English Crown. His revolutionary ancestors were buried five doors away, and hers in a neighboring hamlet.
>
> They had the taste of the past in their mouths. They lived by the weather, by whatever came, and by what they would do with the whole body. They spanned the period 1828-1914, the last couple in the family to touch this rural. American life in its undiluted form. All their children migrated and became urban.
>
> Beam, 1957:4

Beam's grandparents, like the Carroll's, saw enormous changes in Maine, from great economic expansion to the beginning of retraction into a service economy and insularity.

THREE FRONTIERS

After the end of the French and Indian Wars and until steam forced sailing ships out of the race for cargo in exotic ports, Maine had three frontiers: the northern woods , the outer islands and the ocean. Each venue challenged its people in ways that life in settled towns and cities did not and each helped form a distinctive culture in Maine. Let us look briefly at life in the mid-1800's in each of these three environments.

THE WOODS:

> It may be argued , persuasively I believe, that the Maine woods are the very touchstone of the Maine character itself. Since the first European settlement, Maine residents have lived in a powerful

> relationship with these woods, which have provided physical, emotional, and spiritual sustenance to individuals, families , and communities alike.
>
> Barringer, 1989:113

Timber resources were an essential attraction to settlers of Maine and lumbering began immediately. " It was the quest for lumber that colonized Maine.... [and] the masting business (Pike, 1984: 49)."

> The strength of England, the mother-country, depended on its navy, and the British Admiralty quickly appreciated the potentialities of the American colonies as sources of supplies for ship construction, particularly spars and masts. The Royal Government took measures to conserve these resources for itself as early as 1691, in the Province of Massachusetts Bay, where it was forbidden to cut any pine over twenty-four inches in diameter, except on privately owned land. Successive acts, up to 1729, prohibited, under penalty of a fine of fifty pounds sterling per tree, the cutting of any kind of pine tree anywhere in New England and in New York, except on private land.
>
> Pike, 1984:44

This was less of a burden on the colonists than might have been imagined, as the Crown appointed only five Surveyors to mark the King's trees in the milllions of acres of forests in British North America. In addition, these men were charged with monitoring illegal cutting, training colonists in "the proper way of preparing pitch and tar for the use of the Royal Navy" , and encouraging the growing of hemp (Pike, 1984:45). Nevertheless, one Surveyor-General, John Bridger, was recalled for having "done his duty too vigorously. 'These frontier people depend on the woods for their livelihood,' Bridger wrote; 'they say the King has no woods here, hence they will cut what and where they please (Pike, 1984:45)." Sometimes this attitude of independence resulted in wanton destruction. "Knowing that fire would spoil white-pine trees for masts, but would still leave

them a good deal of salvageable lumber" , backwoodsmen set fires in New Hampshire and Maine (Pike, 1984:51).

Lumber, of course, provided the raw material for shipbuilding, which, in turn, encouraged more lumbering. Maine logging was so profitable a business that it attracted men from other states and from the Maritime provinces of Canada. All the lumberjacks lived a life of isolation, independence, self-reliance, and hard work, though this was often made enjoyable by the camaraderie and humor of camp life and the opportunity to be out of doors.

Lumbering was always moving farther away as good trees were used up. As the supply of great pines dwindled in the Maine forests, some of the loggers followed the industry west until there were Mainers in many of the western states. The record of their emigration is marked by the towns they named after Bangor, Maine, the preeminent logging town.

The woods also lured sportsmen and visitors like Henry David Thoreau, who regretted his first experience killing a moose and may have misunderstood his hosts when he stated " the explorers and the lumberers generally are all hirelings , paid so much a day for their labor, and as such they have no more love for wild nature than woodsawyers have for forests (Shain, 1991: 148).

The guides were in an ambiguous position, being both in charge of the party and in cleaning up after it.

> At the very least these visitors offered woodsmen equal sport as barbs for their humor. To prove themselves that they are no man's lackeys, the guides warn their sports against side-hill badgers, imaginary beasts of tremendous ferocity whose legs through a lifetime of walking on the sides of hills are of vastly different lengths, and against giant dragonflies that will sew up the lips of the unwary. They say that the wind streaks on a lake are tracks left by sledges crossing the ice during the previous winters and that quills can be thrown long distances by porcupines and will, once they hit their mark, inevitably work their way to the heart, with fatal

> consequence; and any other ridiculous thing that occurs to them Thus they establish to their own satisfaction and the independence of mind and spirit necessary to any Down-easter.
>
> Rich, 1964: xiv

Humor helped the guides preserve a sense of dignity.

However, the woods were most important in creating Maine character.

> Many of the distinctive qualities of the Yankee temperament can be accounted for only by the proximity of the forest - of a feeling, unconscious but deep, of the presence of nature.
>
> Pike, 1984 :275

The Maine woods still offer a real challenge to those who work or visit; they stand as closest approximation in the east to a wilderness frontier.

THE ISLANDS:

Islands are by definition insular. This insularity can be protective cover, preserving valued traditions, but it also holds inversions that might be better dissipated by the fresh air of outside influence. Coatsworth remarks, "island people almost always develop very definite characteristics, occasionally bad but usually good. They are old-fashioned; the sea protects them from the flood of formlessness which washes across our towns and cities; they are franker, more individualistic... (Coatsworth, 1968:145)."

Ruth Weir's fictional account of island life highlights this duality which is not, in Maine , confined to islands.

> I'm sick of this goddam hole of an island !' Leonard burst out. ' Blasted backbiters and gossips, they'd say anything just so it was behind your back! ...Over on the island, it's well, they kind of

> huddle away from each other, like it was every man for himself. I never could see much sense in it, where we was always all neighbors...Oh , if somethin turns up, like trouble on the water, everybody chips in and lends a hand, the way they used to.
>
> Moore, 1986 :296

Island life could be very difficult. Virginia Coatsworth notes , "one of the outstanding features of pioneer life was and is its frequent isolation. I know of two cases myself where a family has been marooned without its men, and faced starvation waiting for their return. One case was on lonely Matinicus Rock (Coatsworth, 1968; 118)." Isolation could have tragic consequences. Mary Ellen Chase, author of Silas Crockett wrote:

> We knew of outlying islands beset with starvation in an especially bitter winter, of mailboats foundered at sea. Is it too much then to believe that there crept into our minds earlier than into the minds of most children a sense of the inevitability, not only of suffering but of endurance as well, that we grew, perhaps unconsciously and insensibly to look upon sorrow not as an individual, concrete matter but rather as a mighty abstraction, necessary and common to all human life. An easier, more fortified age may well question such an assumption; but few who were born to a seafaring heritage and few who knew coast life even a quarter century ago will, I doubt it .
>
> Shain, 1991:159

Islands are quintessential distillations of traits in Maine character.

John Gilley of Baker's Island

John Gilley's father William and mother Hannah "took possession" of Baker's Island about 1812. They did not have to buy the island from anyone or any jurisdiction, but creating their homestead obviously required effort and tenacity. For Hannah, it also required tolerance for "formidable isolation which was absolute for considerable periods of the year (Eliot:1989:13)." In good weather she could row seven miles to Southwest Harbor, but in winter and in bad

weather she was bound to the island. Hannah, who had been to school in Massachusetts, was able to teach her children (12 eventually) to read, write and cipher; and " all her life she valued good reading and encouraged it in her family (Eliot, 1898:12)."

Like other pioneer families, "this Gilley family on its island domain was much more self-contained and independent than any ordinary family is to-day... They got their fuel, food, and clothing as products of their own skill and labor, their supplies and resources being almost all derived from the sea and from their own fields and woods (Eliot, 1989:19)." Food was abundant - lobsters, for instance, could be picked up along the shore. They raised sheep and grew flax using the wool for clothing and household items, and linen used primarily for towels. One brother learned to make shoes for use in winter. They shot birds for feathers they sold to a coaster headed for the Boston market; eggs and butter they sold directly to families on Mount Desert Island.

As Eliot notes, living on an island can benefit those who endure its demands:

> The youth who learns to wring safety and success out of such adverse conditions has been taught by these struggles with nature to be vigilant, patient, self-reliant , and brave. In these temperate regions the adverse forces of nature are not, as they sometimes are in the tropics, irresistible and overwhelming. They can be resisted and overcome by man; and so they develop in successive generations some of the best human qualities.
>
> Eliot, 1993:20

Those who live through Maine winters now might be surprised to think of the tropics as having irresistibly adverse conditions, but certainly island life inculcated the virtues Eliot praises.

SAILING: 1850 - 1880

The influence of the sea on the people of Maine, particularly , of course, those who live near it, is inestimable. The rich fishing areas of the Georges Bank and the Gulf of Maine had originally drawn fishermen from Europe before colonization and continued to provide a living for many Maine families. Fishermen, like their western peers, the cowboys, shared the characteristics of courage, independence, and the ability to deal with physical hardship and a rigorous life out-of-doors. As on any frontier, people can also think they are beyond the law, because in some ways, literally, they are.

Shipping was incredibly important to the economy of Maine. "By 1855 Maine was building a third of US shipping tonnage however, within four years this had fallen off 80% (Barringer, 1989: 59)." Maine shipbuilders adapted to the needs of the times, constructing fishing vessels, Clippers, coasters, and Downeasters, as demand dictated. However, the most remarkable development in the economy of Maine may have been the China trade:

> In 1784, Captain John Greene sailed the Empress of China from New York on the first direct voyage ever made by an American ship to Canton...Captain Greene came home with a rich cargo, which he sold at such tremendous profit that all shipowners, including those of Maine, at once determined to go and do likewise. Thus began a fabulous period in the history of Maine shipping, the glamourous era of the China trade...
>
> The first of the Maine ships [to make this trip] was the Portland...[which] sailed for the Orient in 1786 with a cargo of beef, salt cod, pickled salmon, barrel staves and shugar. The invoice of her return cargo is fascinating , if a little baffling. It includes, along with comprehensible articles like bandanna handkerchiefs, items with such wonderful names as Beerboom Gurrahs, fine and coarse Policates, Allabad blue and Chitabudy Baftas.
>
> Rich, 1964: 127

> John Gilley's coasting schooner The Preference carried paving stones from Cranberry Island to Boston, and porgy oil, a substitute for linseed oil unavailable during the Civil War.
> Eliot,1989: 22

However, trade with the Caribbean in sugar, molasses and rum, in exchange for Maine products such as fish, lumber, vegetables and livestock and later ice was always more important to Maine than trade with the Orient. Maine ships tended to be smaller than the Clippers of the mid-eighteen hundreds. Fitting a clipper almost required that she sail from a larger port like Boston, where cargoes could be collected and there was deeper draft. However, the smaller schooners and downeasters filled an important niche. Virginia Somes-Sanderson adds, " the profits gained were usually well worth the threat of dangers, trials, and tribulations. One had to be something of a gambler, facing the challenge of the sea and accepting losses philosophically (Somes-Sanderson, 1982: 217)."

Many Maine men went to sea, and in Maine whole families went to sea. I have been told, but can not confirm, that Maine was the only state in which families and in particular, wives accompanied captains and other officers. For example, Dorothea Honora Moulton Balano sailed with her husband for nineteen years, raising a family on board ship traveling throughout the Caribbean and to Europe.

Captains like Jacob Carroll could describe " the places he had visited and the sights of London, Amsterdam, Paris, Le Havre, and Cadiz; he also visited Calloa (Peru), Rio de Janeiro, Calutta, Bombay and many other ports. During his sailing days, he crossed the Atlantic five times and went around the world once (Raup, 1993: 35)." Dorothea Balano tells us that her husband's grandfather established a base on Hupper's Island near Portland from which to "send... forth scores of vessels, captained by his sons and sons-in-law, to the

West Indies, South America, Africa, and Europe, for gold and glory (Balano, 1979:53)."

Captains brought back stories and descriptions of other cultures and countries, as well as trinkets, fine porcelains, silks and other luxuries for their families as well as for trade. Captain Jacob Carroll, "returned from his voyages with cotton and other cloth, and with clothing for the family. He brought back the cloth for Rebecca's wedding gown, as well as more exotic items - a white silk shawl, and blue and gold Turkish slippers from Constantinople. (Raup, 1993: 28)." Jacob was at sea for thirty-six years, during which he spent three years on a voyage to Australia, rounded Cape Horn and the Cape of Good Hope. " As was common along the Maine coast, these overseas journeys introduced exotic cultures to the Mountain House [Carroll Homestead]. Jacob brought back , too, stories of adventure and daring that kept his children and grandchildren entranced (Raup, 1993: 28 + 35)."

The sight of ships and sailors in the harbors lured young men to sea. In 1786 Lemuel Norton wrote for many his age:

> Ships, brigs, and schooners, coming in from different parts of the world and anchoring in the harbor attracted my attention, and their splendid appearance with the men and boys on the yards and at the mast-head , furling and sometimes loosening their sails, drew my affections quite away from all other pursuits, and I longed to be a sailor .
>
> Shain, 1991: 10

Many wives of seafaring men carried the entire burden of running homes and sometimes businesses while their husbands were at sea giving, the women independence and confidence unknown those whose husbands were always home. However, for families the stress of waiting, sometimes for years, was enormous. "When he was away on a voyage life for her [Grandmother Elmira]

was an agony of anxiety and waiting. Like all wives of seafaring men, whenever she thought it time for him to come sailing home she spent hours standing in a doorway, waiting and watching, gazing seaward through a long spyglass (Smith, 1993: 18)." And many did not come home again.

In her superb story "The Queen's Twin" , Jewett tells us:

> ...the coast of Maine was in former years brought so near to foreign shores by its busy fleet of ships that among the older men and women one still finds a surprising proportion of travelers....they were among the last of the Northmen's children to go adventuring to unknown shores. More than this one cannot give to a young State for its enlightenment; the sea captains and the captains' wives of Maine knew something of the wide world , and never mistook their native parishes for the whole instead of a part thereof.
>
> Jewett, 1981: 189

In "The Country of the Pointed Firs" ,the old sea captain, Captain Littlepage reports:

> It was a dog's life, but it made men of those who followed it. A community narrows down and grows dreadful ignorant when it is shut up to its own affairs. In the old days a good part o' the best men here knew a hundred ports and something of the way folks lived in them. They saw the world for themselves and like's not their wives and children saw it with them...They were acquainted with foreign lands and their laws, and could see outside the battle for town clerk here in Dunnet. They got some sense of proportion. They lived more dignified. Shipping's a terrible loss to this part o' New England from a social point of view.
>
> Jewett, 1981 :20

This sense of proportion vanishes when the world contracts to the size of a village.

Working at sea, on an island , alone in the woods, or alone at home demanded that men and women be self-reliant, inventive, practical, courageous and hard-working. A sense of humor and the ability to entertain oneself certainly helped.

OTHER INFLUENCES :WAR 1812 - 1865

Sending her sons to war, had similar effects on Maine culture as sending them to sea. Men ventured out of the known environment into unknown worlds, increasing their horizons and bringing back new experiences. Many did not return because they died, while others simply stayed away after serving. Maine offered more of her sons per capita to fight the Civil War than did any other state.

> By the end of the war, Maine contributed to the Union army thirty-one regiments of infantry, three regiments of cavalry, one regiment of heavy artillery, seven batteries of light artillery, and seven companies of sharpshooters. Altogether, 73,000 Maine men bore arms (about 12 percent of the state's population); 8,792 died, 11,309 were wounded or discharged because of illness.
>
> Shain, 1991 : 151

Many of these young men had hardly been out of their own village and county, let alone the state. War drew many Mainers outside the state, deeply influencing them and those they touched when they returned. Service in the Civil War gave tens of thousands of Maine men a far wider experience of the world, and many never returned (Barringer, 1989: 9).

Maine men and their families paid an enormous price for the experience. "The Civil War made everybody poor for a long time. Families were scarred for forty years afterward by the illness the fathers brought back, by mortgages, the high cost of bare subsistence, the memories (Beam: 1957 :45)." And the wars, particularly the Revolution which had been fought on Maine soil, lived in stories told and re-told; "the blaze still held over, burning bright in adult pride and endowing children with haughty self-confidence (Beam, 1957:37)."

In the journal he kept during the Civil War John Haley gives us a feeling for the dedication many young Yankees felt to the Union cause.

> John Haley is an example of a Maine soldier struggling to survive the Civil War. Haley, who described himself in his extraordinary journal as a soldier "below criticism" and "a poor fighter" also notes that he was "present all the time.": "It is 'present all the time" that emerges as the key to John Haley's character. Suffering from dysentery and liver trouble, he tumbles, falls, is often one of the stragglers on the long marches through Virginia, but he always struggles to get 'back on his pons' and catch up with the regiment... Sick weary, starving, disgusted with the military, Haley nonetheless was unwavering in his belief in the Union and determined to protect it at all costs... Few men endured three years of such dreadful combat, yet our mediocre soldier was 'present all the time'
>
> Silliker, 1985 : 14

Such extraordinary perseverance, dedication to duty and endurance still characterize many Maine people.

OTHER INFLUENCES: travellers, peddlers, entertainers, visitors and returning sons and daughters

The migration of children to urban areas was another powerful influence on Mainers. Many left never to return, leaving a terrible void in the life of their families. Others returned at least in summers "to add lustre" to their parents and communities. Lura Beam's aunts and uncles "all ... 'married well,' migrated to New York, Minnesota, and California, and lived to share the roses, vacations, new suburban homes, the furs and matinees, and the trips abroad of the twentieth century's higher standard of living (Beam, 1957: 100 +19)." Many children went to Boston to find work. " When she was in Boston, sopping around in the dirty winter streets, she longed to come home, was homesick for snow-filled woods and clean smell. But when she did come home in spring, she was restless after about two weeks of it. There wasn't enough to do, and the people

seemed dull and set in their ways (Moore, 1986:104)." Their ambivalence must have affected their parents and communities.

Some of the most able of Maine's children left to find professional work in Boston and other cities and were greatly admired when they returned. Myra Earl Smith has an aunt who "was beautiful....[had] a keen wit, great intelligence and burning ambition... [She] was a very successful physician" who returned periodically in triumph to Winter Harbor. Other successful entrepreneurs such as Mr. Hammond described by Smith, also influenced natives Mainers when they returned to build large cottages.

The city of Boston exerted a powerful influence on country people, though they rarely visited and when they did they often felt ill at ease.

> Tremont Street was a very popular street in those days...I remember kneeling on one of the seats that ran lengthwise of the car, and were covered with wool carpet material, lost in the sights of Tremont Street, but not so absorbed as to be unconscious of the look of annoyance and disgust given my funny coat and the shabby, perhaps muddy, little boots, on the face of the beautifully dressed woman who came into the car near Winter Street and started to sit down besides me. Ignorant I may have been, but I have an intelligent sensitiveness at least
>
> Smith, 1993: 288

Even visiting the nearest large town could be daunting: "the bewildering shops of the next large town, the aspiring anxious woman, the clumsy sea-tanned man in his best clothes, so again, going down the bay with their precious freight, the hoarded money all spent and nothing to think of but tiller and sail (Jewett, 1981:124)."

Pedlars, tintype men who took daguerreotypes, travelling entertainers such as the hand organ man from Sicily who traveled throughout Hancock County in the late 1800s , the Hokey Pokey man with his ice creams, the parrot lady from

Roumania, and itinerant preachers, all brought outside influences to rural Maine (Smith, 1993:311). Without them people became more inward-looking.

With this brief introduction to some historical elements, if not a real history , let us look at works of Maine literature for themes that will help us understand the character of traditional Maine people , particularly coastal people, and their attitudes towards education.

THEMES IN YANKEE CHARACTER:

Yankee society, like all others, was bound by internal and external controls, " the very effective controls of custom and public opinion (Beam, 1957 : 167.)" Maine people valued certain behaviors and disdained others, and though in Beam's word Yankee character was "definite" , still behavior shaded into blends of black and white. In 1987 the Commission on Maine's Future sponsored a study entitled The People of Maine: A Study of Values. The study identified 18% of Mainers as Yankees and another 11% as members of the very similar group traditionalists. The Yankees are characterized as having " traditional rural Maine values -- self-reliance, skepticism, 'show me' pragmatism (Market Decisions, 1989:20), traits we saw in the forefathers.

Louise Rich tells us that Maine is not merely a place.

> It is the spiritual home and shelter as perfectly fitting and comfortable and natural as its shell is to a snail, which, like snails , they carry with them wherever they may go.....Mainiacs away from Maine are truly displaced persons....The people, too, are Maine; the close-mouthed, level-eyed men and women with their horse sense, their bitter humor, their Puritan consciences, and their good old Yankee names ...They are a strange and contradictory breed,

> misfits perhaps in the modern world , but completely at home in the simpler world of their own choosing or making
>
> Rich, 1964: x-xii

Rich romanticizes Maine, nevertheless it is a prescient passage, as we can see now how influences 'from away' have made some Mainers feel like misfits in their own state. Let us identify these Yankee traits through Maine literature.

Work Ethic:

Yankee society seemed grounded on bedrock of the work ethic. "Work was not for money or for possession it was for love, work for work's sake. The Yankee of this time and place was so serious a workman that as a spectator, he tended to identify himself not with the hero, but with substance and techniques (Beam, 1985:70)." People were judged by their ability to work hard, and work itself became ennobling if done well, even a back-breaking task like picking potatoes.

> She moved down her first set of rows like fire through dry brush. The sight of her line of barrels set off within her a small warmth of consolation that helped her maintain the frenzied momentum into the next row. She took a grudging pride in her work. Doing it well, doing it best, was what made it bearable. ' Quite a worker, that April, quite a worker.' people had always said, and always said twice as if unable to underscore the fact in any other way, even when she was a kid. 'Quite a worker.'
>
> Fischer, 1989: 219

"Economy was tied to work and the lazy were: just one step from the poorhouse (Beam, 1985:164)." People found virtue in order, organization , "an essential of work," cleanliness and "an almost excessive regard for time (Beam, 1985 :167.)" All these traits could be seen as essential for work if other equally productive cultures had not chosen different paths over which to travel to reach their goals.

That work done well was the goal, not necessarily the nature of the work nor prestige, power or money, may have helped people adapt in time of hardship or change, adopting new work when the old failed. "The remarkable quality about Grandfather was his ability to adapt his occupation to local changes, an ability which he continued to have into extreme old age (Beam, 1985 :4)." It may also be one reason people "from away" and Mainers have had a hard time appreciating each other. Those "from away" tend to honor power and prestige and Mainers have felt insulted when their work is looked down upon and the way in which they do their work goes unappreciated.

Thrift / Miserliness:

Many writers contrast the themes of thrift bordering on miserliness, pettiness, and penny-pinching cheapness with the generosity and kindliness of neighbors and strangers. Dorothea Balano, who sailed with her husband on their schooner was not a native Mainer. In the log she wrote for nineteen years about their journeys she notes:

> The New Englanders don't part from their money too easily, as I noticed at Port Clyde when Fred's mother paid off an errand boy with a half-rotten apple... The worst of it is that when she's around Fred, he is mama's dutiful little boy... Nothing I do or say is acceptable to their conspiracy to beat me down to their penny-pinching show.
>
> Balano, 1989: 13 + 132

However , later she adds, "Much of what I wrote about his stinginess in the first part of these diaries should be deleted. He has a native generosity which

sometimes, allows him to overcome his mother's training toward making every penny holler for mercy (Balano, 1989 : 158)."

Lura Beam adds, "It is impossible to realize the ardor with which the forefathers once tried to be 'saving... ' Debt paved the road to ruin, so the game was to calculate what could be saved by doing without...small deprivations were accepted thankfully (Beam, 1957:161) "Borrowing money was disapproved of and buying on time - except for houses or land - was unknown (Beam, 1957 :62)"

Individualism and Eccentricity:

Independence and individuality were deeply rooted traditions in New England culture, which also promoted tolerance of eccentricity and deviance to an unexpected degree. "The feeling for the individual in one's self was so strong that it protected all kind of eccentricities in others. Except in an English village no people could have been more tolerant of variations from the norm... life's oddities (Beam, 1957:165)." "But here, strangeness is more accepted than among people who constantly read other men's ideas and are more closely gripped in the world of machinery...here the isolated families, fighting their separate fights against Fate and the encroaching wilderness, are aware of curious recurrences and accept them (Coatsworth, 1968: 44)." The literature abounds with tales of eccentrics as well as people from other racial and ethnic backgrounds who , in the 1800s were accepted at least onto the fringe of society.

Endurance/ Repression: Lust and Volcanic Eruptions

Self-discipline, the discipline to deny and suppress, which Puritans admired and inculcated is one aspect o. stinginess. "Life was supposed to be full of

repressions and inhibitions. It was 'good for them' to repress children. People were proud of breaking the spirit of the young. Girls responded more sensitively to repression with the result that an inhibited woman ground down to fatal meekness might be admired as refined (Beam, 1957: 91)." Beam notices "faces are marked with discipline... (Beam, 1957:53)" "Suffering for the sake of doing right was a commonplace and the gospel of endurance was so extreme that nowadays it might seem masochism (Beam:1957:171).".

In a brilliant image Beam shows us that in adulthood , this pattern could result in "a contrary right-hand instinct, subtle and maddening, which warned him not to let joy go too far, not to let the way become too easy , in fact to accept the hard. In some private wind tunnel of his own, his test was to see how much pressure he could resist (Beam ,1957:161)" and the answer was , a lot. The countervailing force and "chief protection against this strictness was the affirmative attitude toward love and marriage... Love began with all man's dreams and turned into his stability (Beam, 1985:171)."

Jewett shows us that repression had another side:

> I tell you, Leslie, that for intense self-centered, smouldering volcanoes of humanity, New England cannot be matched the world over. It's like the regions in Iceland that are full of geysers...By and by you will have all blown up, - you quiet descendents of the Pilgrims and Puritans, and have let off your superfluous wickedness like blizzards, and when the blizzards of each family have spent themselves you will grow dull and sober, and all on a level and be free from the troubles of a transition state
>
> Jewett, 1986:76

Balano too "noticed a bawdy, lusty, Elizabethan remnant now mixed with, but so thoroughly blended with, the Baptist code of conduct, which has been superimposed. The downeasters are not a colloid or a solvent into which the basics have lost their identity. One moment the lust comes out; the next moment

it settles to the bottom of a crude mix and on top appears the righteous element (Balano, 1979 : 106)."

Love of Land and Animals:

It is hard for people who do not live in the country to understand the depth of love country people have for the land and the solace they derive from communion with the other creatures who share it. Laura Beam tells us that Maine farmers named the remarkable stones and trees on their land, giving these a value and dignity. In this way, " small living things were accepted as the furnishings of the landscape, and talked about as part of farm possessions (Beam, 1957:28.)"

"The land was a passion, magical in its influence upon human life. It produced; nothing else at all, except trees and flowers and vegetable harvests. Life ran back and forth, land into people and people back until land, until both were the same. (Beam, 1957:3)." Lura Beam found this so compelling that the last line in her book is "Living he was the land (Beam, 1957:233). These sentiments underscore a feeling of stewardship, not to be confused with private property rights which until recently have superseded public concern.

Coatsworth sees love of the land as a bond to country:

> If Americans are to become really at home in America it must be through the devotion of many people to many small, deeply loved places. The field by the sea, the single mountain peak seen from a man's door, the island of tees and farm buildings in the western what, must be sung and painted and praised until each takes on the gentleness of the thing long loved, and becomes an unconscious part of us and we of it.
>
> Coatsworth, 1968: 165

Love of place binds Mainers to their towns and state, making it very hard for some to leave, even briefly.

Neighborliness/Gossip and Spite:

The homogeneity of the population promoted both mutual support, understanding and neighborliness as well as divisive jealousy, gossip, and pettiness. Beam reminds us that, "Most of the people of the hamlet lived together so closely the collective feeling was like that of the tribal clan or the British regiment. The average American never gets a chance now to know a population unit so deeply homogeneous. Schisms and feuds made convolutions within the large unity, but everyone knew everyone else : what he did, how he met good and ill. (Beam 1957 :51)."

Coatsworth describes Gentle Mrs. Dunbar who:

> " writes verses and gives people things... [who] walks the stony Maine roads to go neighboring, as it is called, always with a box of berries or a packet of flower seeds in her hand, or maybe some cookies she had just made, or a pincushion she had put together from some silk she came across. In a part of the world where everyone in generous, Mrs. Dunbar shines as the most generous of all, giving, giving, giving, as naturally as a cricket chirrups or a chipmunk runs on a sunny wall .
>
> Coatsworth,1968:32

This graciousness and generousity would shine in any society and belies the Yankee reputation for austerity.

The other side of this is the extraordinary degree to which Mainers can cut themselves off 'to spite themselves.' Rich states, "Maine logic leans heavily on precedent and sees nothing odd in cutting off the nose to spite the face. That operation is one of a man's inalienable rights (Rich, 1964: 182)." Coatsworth offers an example in the family of a widowed fisherman's wife, her new husband and her father , who has come to live with them after the death of his own wife.

> When his own wife died, Andrew was left with no woman to take care of him, He turned to his daughter as the next of kin. The fact that he refused to speak to her husband seemed not to alter his rights in any other their eyes. Surely in another part of the country the old man would have had to agree to let the causeless feud go before he came under his son-in-law's roof; but not in New England. For thirty years he lived with them, and never to the day of his death addressed a word to his son-in-law. For thirty years his daughter cooked for him, mended his clothes, and set his place at the kitchen table between hers and her husband's. For thirty years the big lobsterman stamped in, pulled of his sea boots , answered his wife's questions, lighted his pipe, and with patience endured the old man's silence .
>
> Coatsworth, 1968: 130

What extraordinary repression and self-discipline this must have taken.

Jewett gives us another example. " On a larger island, farther out to sea, my entertaining companion showed me with glee the small houses of two farmers who shared the island between them, and declared that for three generations the people had not spoken to each other even in times of sickness or death or birth (Jewett, 1981:35). Jewett, in discussing her character, Joanna Todd, who retired to live on an otherwise uninhabited island after a failed love affair, states; "I had been reflecting upon a state of society which admitted such personal freedom and a voluntary hermitage (Jewett, 1981:69)."

The small scale of village life lends itself to becoming preoccupied with trivia and gossip. Though Sarah Orme Jewett reminds us that human interaction on the smallest level is the grist for great writers and that in a small neighborhood "one bit of news will last ... a fortnight (Jewett, 1986: 77)."

> These country neighbors knew their friends affairs as well as they did their own but such an audience is never impatient. The repetitions of the best stories are signal events, for ordinary circumstances do not inspire them. Affairs must rise to a certain level before a narration of some great crisis is suggested , and exactly as a city audience is well contented with hearing the plays

> of Shakespeare over and over again, so each man and woman of experience is permitted to deploy their well-known but always interesting stories upon the rustic stage.
>
> Jewett, 1986: 13

Gossip and negativity can erode trust and self-confidence and retard individual and community growth.

ATTITUDE TOWARDS EDUCATION: Impressions

As with so many other things, Mainers seem to hold contrasting feelings about education. People in the 18th and 19th Centuries admired the educated, and the level and degree of literacy seems to have been generally higher than it is today. However, Maine people also feigned ignorance , mocked the educated and saw education as making women less marriageable but as necessary for those who would be spinsters. Education had practical value, and at the same time reading , writing, and story-telling were very important components of recreation.

Children carried serious responsibility for chores, helping their parents and grandparents and working in family enterprises. Their labor mattered and adults counted on them. "We must conclude that earlier Maine families expected more of their children than modern families do. Our stories report that Maine's children responded. A boy aboard a coastal vessel was often asked to do a man's work before he was ten (Shain, 1991: 2)."

Reluctant to boast, Mainers usually seemed self-deprecating in terms of their own accomplishments. Balano found, "I'd better be less proud of my brilliance in the company of these people (downeasters) who like to act ignorant when they are really quite adept, in their own way, at things that matter to them (Balano, 19 :59)." At the same time, Maine people admired achievement: Mrs.

Shaw...went to the Sorbonne. She said that Captain J.W. would be very proud of me, if we ever meet, because he had told her several times how much he missed having an education. Apparently he went away to sea when he was twelve, without having gone beyond the sixth grade, but reads voraciously, as I've seen may sailors do (Balano, 1989:77)."

Somes Sanderson tells us that:

> ... one of the first considerations of the settlers who came to make Mount Desert Island their permanent home was the education of their children. Few in number, they were nevertheless determined that their sons, and in a few instances , their daughters, should not grow up ignorant of the fundamentals of learning...
>
> Somes-Sanderson, 1983 :151

Expectations for schooling differed greatly, but it is interesting that modern educators are adopting many of the ways of schooling used in the 18th and 19th centuries. "School began at the sixth year, but the mother usually taught the child to read after he was about four. (Beam, 1982:89)."

The form of schooling was very different as well.

> The one-room school had its ways of being as modern as tomorrow. It had no tests, no examinations, no homework, no reports, required no excuse for absence, used no marching or other devices of drill. Children might sit where they liked. They were not promoted from grade to grade annually since there were no grades, only individuals. There was no graduation; pupils merely went to school as long as they wanted to. The only school reward was being known as a good scholar.....The schoolroom then always held three groups, the little ones, the intermediates, and the older students. Classes for the oldest and the youngest were fairly fixed, intermediate work was flexible. Children shifted from class to class, reading with one group, doing arithmetic with another, and geography with a third, so that progress was individual.
>
> Beam, 1957 :119

Reading was very important recreation , which , by its nature, promoted education.

> Long winter evenings were devoted to the quieter pastimes. Reading and recitations, music and games were all a part of life at the Mountain House. Books, newspaper, and magazines were an important part of the household. Although not numerous, they were carefully selected, including the works of Charles Dickens, Sir Walter Scott, James Fennimore Cooper, and Washington Irving. Jacob Carroll was fond of the poetry of Robert Burns, and he readily quoted from Boswell's life of Johnson and Marcus Aurelius.
>
> Raup, 1993:43-44

Of the Gilley's , Eliot reports; "They found their pleasure chiefly at home. In the winter evening they read aloud to one another, thus carrying down to another generation the habit which Hannah Lurvey Gilley had established in her family (Eliot, 1989:32).

Life on ship promoted reading and many of the ship's personnel, particularly the Captains, were very well read:

> A shipmaster was apt to get the habit of reading, 'said my companion, brightening still more, and taking on a most touching air of unreserve, ' A Captain is not expected to be familiar with his crew, and for company's sake in dull days and nights he turns to his book. most of us old shipmasters came to know 'most everything about somethin" one would take to readin' on farming topics, and some were great on medicine, - but Lord help their poor crews - or some were all for history, and now and then there'd be one like me that gave his time to the poets. Sometimes I usesd to thik that there was nothing beautiful to me but the stars above the sea, and those passages of verse from Milton and Shakespeare which I had memorized. There's no large-minded way of thinking now.
>
> Jewett, 1981:21

As Captain Littlepage implies, reading broadened the narrow perspectives of village life; without it, there is a tendency to atrophy and withdraw.

WOMEN'S EDUCATION:

Few women were really well educated, but it seems more women earned a higher level of education than men. To go on to college a woman had to struggle against powerful currents in the society. Many believed education threatened a man's sense of masculinity and thereby diminished a woman's chance of marrying.

> I was no means content with my acquired knowledge. What I had learned was thoroughly learned, but it was so little, and I saw boys were sent to college, while the girls of the same age in a family were married and that was the last of them
>
> I passed many an hour cogitating plans by which I might more fully educate myself, but hesitate to name them , as I could see my mother was planning to marry her daughters, and that, while they were very young.
>
> Shain,1991:25 (quoting Elizabeth Oakes Smith, 1806-1893 Maine first professional literary woman)

Ruth Moore, describing island life adds:

> But I had to fight my own father every step of the way through high school, and most of the men around here think the way he does. Boy!' she added with feeling, ' the royal battles we used to have!'
>
> After that (a fight) he gave in, but he never misses a chance to twit me about being educated. He says now I'm a damn freak - I know too much for any man to want to marry me.'
>
> He's mistaken there, ' Leonard said warmly.
>
> Moore, 1986 :130

The threat of spinsterhood hung over young women with a special catch; if they studied too hard they would be less marriageable , but if they didn't have an education they would not be able to earn a living if they remained unmarried.

> Since the possibility of spinsterhood was always present, the girls were expected to establish a degree of independence in that eventuality....teaching elementary school was one of the few careers open to women during the 19th century...Although at the time preparation for teaching usually was limited - simply graduating from high school was deemed adequate.
>
> Raup, 1993:39

For many girls, reading and writing were a important sources of recreation and girls were encouraged to such pleasures, though not to assume knowledge gave any rights.

Harriet Beecher Stowe, writing about such girls noted:

> you go into a plain farm house, where the furniture and all the appurtenances retain the most primitive simplicity,- but be not surprised if you see Latin, Greek and German books lying on the table. You look inquiringly, and are told perhaps of a certain Mary Ann or Marian who is keeping school up at Umbagog, or some other impossible out-of-the-way place whose books these are. She had long done using them - she got them when she first began; now she has left them for Cynthia or Louisa, or some other fair successor in the family line, who is equally hardy and energetic in her attacks upon the tree of knowledge.. You talk with her [Cynthia] and find she has a mind as sharp and bright and keen as one of the quartz crystals among her own mountains. She has been to the academy in the neighboring town...One is struck with the intellectual activity of the Maine women wherever he travels among them.
>
> Shain, 1991, Maine reader: 125

Clearly this pattern persisted, not only in Maine, until the latter half of the 20th Century.

BOYS' EDUCATION

The attitude about educating boys was also ambivalent. On one hand, many people read extensively for pleasure and the very well-educated were admired. However, most boys were expected to help support their families and help their fathers by following them into work. Dorothea Balano's husband , Fred, reflected a widely held attitude based, in part, on the realities of survival on subsistence farms and in occupations like sailing and fishing that were very risky. "Fred says there's no reason for Saint George boys to go to college unless they want to be preachers, lawyers, or doctors. He says every boy can make a better living going to sea and that college would spoil good seamen, making nothing but a bunch of sea-lawyers, nautical for trouble-makers (Balano: 30)."

For many boys, particularly those from traditional working families, going to school could be torturous. Their embarrassment and apparent sullenness, of course, worked agaisnt them, irritating teachers often unfamiliar with this kind of self-defense. Ruth Moore describes such a boy:

> Sayl Comey went to school every day, but it seemed to him that things got worse instead of better. He couldn't get used to the routine, and he coudln't see any sense in what went on. In class he presented a face of bleak and absolute boredom.
>
> Something in the sight of the big sullen fellow, sitting always on the end of his spine and the back of his neck irritated the teachers extremely. No matter what they did to interest or amuse the class, Saylor Comey's face never changed. Miss Rayne, the English teacher, carried the battle to him the first week of school by sending him out of the room for not paying attention. Once she made his go back to the door and come in quietly because his big foot upset a wastebasket - on purpose, Miss Rayne told herself. After that, the hatred between them was cordial and enduring.
>
> Moore, 1986: 197

Today , such misunderstandings remain common between teachers and students, particularly between those who come from different cultures.

RUSTICATION:

During the early 1800s, Maine lost much of its population, as " new railroad market connections made the open and more tillable lands of the Midwest a more profitable place to farm than the hilly, rocky soil of Maine. (Lewis, 1993: 93). Some Maine people followed lumbering, and others stayed in California, where they had gone during the heyday of the China trade and the gold rush. By 1860, about 50,000 people from Maine were living outside the state. Neither the economy nor the population of Maine recovered easily from these losses brought on in large part by the opening of the West by the new railroads.

This loss of jobs and opportunities affected the way people thought about the future.

> As a place, the hamlet too felt that life was double. In addition to its own stationary life between the hills, there was a second life by migration. The economic resources of the locality were not only the woods and the land; the third way of making a living was by migration. At twenty-one the young flew away like birds
>
> Beam, 1957 :207

Coatsworth adds, " The more enterprising among the [young people] spread their wings of ambition and flew away to the larger cities or to the westward (Coatsworth, 1968: 214)." Unfortunately, migration was established early as a pattern, a pattern that persists. "Plans for migration began early, barefoot children playing in the brook made up games about the time when they would be old enough to go away alone on the train (Beam, 1957 : 10)."

Coincidentally, through work of the "Hudson" school artists Thomas Cole and Frederick Church, summer visitors began to discover the natural beauties of

Maine at about the same. The "Rusticators" stepped into a void in the economy and population, at first just as guests in boarding homes and inns, and later as "cottagers." Many visitors answered the invitation of the Maine Central Railroad publications of 1895 to " become once more, eager children of nature" in a paradise built by Mother Nature and the hard work of its "idealized natives....rural, salt-of-the-earth people, these tight-lipped taciturn, yet humble folk., living in harmony with their inner natures and the rugged outer beauty of their land (Lewis, 1993:91+93)." In the late 1880s, railroad publicists invented the state slogan that now appears on license plates : Maine, Vacationland. The Maine myth was born.

At first, these people stayed in hotels newly built to accommodate them. "At Northeast Harbor in 1882, ...lodging places such as the 'Asticou Inn' and the 'Rockend Hotel' had just come into existence, and a cottage, joined to another cottage of the same size, and the whole painted white, formed the 'Kimball House' (Somes-Sanderson, 1982 :219)." Catering to summer guests provided a great deal of new work, from construction to maid-service for island people However, visitors soon wanted their own "cottage" , so started buying Maine property, taking this essential asset from Maine natives. Mianers mistakenly thought they were getting the better of the deal as they sold their birthright for what seemed extraordinary profit. Again, the influx of summer people provided a great deal of work:

> ...many people were required to aid in the construction of the elaborate summer " cottages," and to serve as gardeners and caretakers. Local people also were employed to drive the carriages and buckboards and either supply or care for the horses whose owners had brought them to the Island for the summer months, although usually grooms accompanied them and were in charge. Since boating was such a popular activity....and men were employed to manage them...Women were employed as maids, cooks, dressmakers, and hairdressers. The market for fish, butter,

> milk, chickens, vegetables and other produce brought money to Island farms. Stores were increased in size or built new.
>
> Somes-Sanderson, 1982 :229

Even natives who feared the consequences of 'rustication' were forced to admit that rusticators were a "boom to the economy at a time when money was scarce and native industry declining (Somes-Sanderson, 1982 :229)."

In 1800 the Gilley's on Sutton's Island:

> ... heard that three "westerners," or "Rusticators," had bought land at North-east Harbor....It was even reported that one of these pioneers had landed on the western end of Sutton's Island and walked the length of the island. The news was intensely interesting to all the inhabitants. They had heard of the fabulous prices of land at Bar Harbor, and their imaginations began to play over their own pastures and wood-lots. By 1884 "westerners" bought the extreme western point of Sutton's Island and in 1886 John Gilley himself sold land to rusticators for "forty or fifty times any price which had ever been put on his farm by the acre.
>
> Eliot, 1989:34

In the 1890s, Edwin Lawrence Godkin, a journalist, editor and author , founder of the Nation and editor-in-chief of the New York Post, decried the invasion, pointing out its most insidious aspect :

> the cottager , who has become to the boarder what the red squirrel is to the gray, a ruthless invader and exterminator....gradually, and it may be at first imperceptibly, separates himself in feeling and in standards from his fellow-boarders. The year after he is in the cottage and the mischief is done. The change has come. Caste has been established, with all its attendant evils. The community, once so simple and homogeneous, is now divided into two classes, one of which looks down on the other.
>
> Shain, 2 1991 : 352

Others agreed with his observation.

> There is no doubt but that the differing backgrounds, interests and behaviors would have been difficult at best, but on Mount Desert the sensitive and reserved village folk, not given to communicating with strangers, and certainly not with their employers, were in marked contrast to the cliquish, exclusive sojourners, conscious of

their social standing and aware only of their employees as servants.

> Of course, said an elderly lady in a 1920 interview, ' they hired us to be their servants and I suppose we were, for we did the work of servants and were paid for it. We didn't have to take the jobs but we needed the money. Still, they needn't have made our lower social level so obvious. For example, they didn't talk with us in the same way they did with their friends. We were never invited as 'guests' to anything. Of course, we didn't invite them to our doings either. We were just different.
>
> Somes-Sanderson, 1982 : 235

It seems that the Maine tradition of valuing people for the way in which they did their work had come into conflict with the wider culture which valued people for the prestige of their status ascribed at birth or achieved in their work.

Robert Pyle, librarian in Northeast Harbor, identifies the beginning of a cleavage between summer and year-round people as 1906 when the Northeast Harbor Swim Club was established by and for summer people exclusively. Until then, villagers had owned the major assets of land and property and worked with "rusticators" on Village 'improvements' such as The Neighborhood House, the Library and other resources. The Swim Club was designed to separate the two constituencies and achieved its purpose (Pyle, Interview, 1994).

Working for summer people instead of with them has eroded local people's confidence in their own worth and efficacy. I find examples of this in the literature as well as in my own experience. I remember two incidents in particular. I was in the local drugstore several years ago in the early summer and the pharmacist, who all winter had called me Barbara suddenly addressed me as "Mrs. Train." I was startled but responded with a big grin, "Yes, Mr. Hagberg?" Don smiled and replied that he had forgotten I was now a year-round summer person, not just a summer person; we were still friends though it was late June. Another time I was waiting in line at the stationery store when a

summer person came in, saw a friend being waited on and got into immediate conversation, ignoring the fact that her friend 's delay in responding to the owner of the store kept others waiting. "Babbie," she said," Is there anyone here yet? it doesn't seem as if anyone is here! " The owner of the store and I exchanged knowing looks, and later said to each other that we thought we were people and we were , in fact, there.

Jewett's attempt to pass off the importance of the changing relationship inadvertently underscores it:

> It has been suggested that the wealthy summer people were unintentionally and unwittingly guilty of a form of insidious corruption, changing a class of self-independent, hardworking individuals into a group of parasites and lackeys. To a degree, this may have been true. But surely no one can be blamed for offering opportunity , or for exchanging a difficult, dangerous and sometimes impoverished life for one that was easier, more secure and more profitable. All that one had to do to share in the bonanza was to learn to say :yes, sir.' This was not always easy for men and women whose chief pride had always been that they were their own bosses. To some, the difficult lesson was not worth learning, but to more, the compensations made it worthwhile.
>
> Jewett, 1981 : 167

Another writer, William Henry Bishop, pointed out that although on Mount Desert Island "which fashion has so liberally taken into favor" where young waitresses "devour... with undisguised admiration the toilets of the city belles; and the men [work] as porters, drivers, and hostlers, [s]till a bolder portion of the men refused to yield to the blandishments of these spiritless new occupations, and cured their fish and went their voyages as usual (Shain, 199 2 :242).

This uneasy and sycophantic alliance has continued to the present and shows no sign of abating. It is still built on a myth that ignores the realities of a harsh climate, limited options, and the needs of families finding it harder to preserve both a way of live and a place in which they can afford to live their

lives. The implications of moving from an economy based on production and transport of goods to one based on service to others include dependence and second-class citizenship, which now frustrate Maine's ability to offer other opportunities to her people.

IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATION

What we have learned of Maine history and culture, particularly as it pertains to Yankee beliefs and values, does have important impact on the schooling of children in Maine. We can see remnants of old traits and if we are careful, we can identify ways in which these come into conflict with the now dominant culture of the larger society. I hope to follow this review with another focusing on the period 1890 - 1990 which will connect these themes.

The frontier spirit still underlies much of what happens in Maine, though the myth of Maine is largely a contrivance of publicity bureaus, and omits mention of the poverty, ignorance, and abuse that cloud the lives of at least twenty percent of Maine people. Nevertheless, the traditions I have described , hard work, morality, repression, stoicism, individualism, acceptance of eccentricity, independence, practicality, and humor still play an important role. People feel a tremendous bond to the places they know and love. The beauty of nature and a feeling of communion with the natural world on a daily basis are fundamentally important, often more important than finding a more highly paid job with greater status that would require leaving the community. Marriage and the family are also fundamentally important. Many extended families are very close, both geographically and emotionally.

However, the pressures of living in an isolated community, constantly barraged by influences from the larger world, dependent on and vulnerable to that larger world, are taking a toll. Teen-age pregnancy, formerly a disgrace and almost unheard of, is now common though still very painful for the adults or grandparents. Crime, including violent crime, has increased, as has the use of drugs. However, the island remains surprisingly insular. I think active

engagement with the world through travel, including service in the military, trade and commerce is very different from passive involvement through mass media and the influx of visitors. The first allows one some measure of control, the second makes one feel acted upon and secondary.

What specific impact can we see on education? The increase in students "from away" who tend to have college educated parents, in the number of people "from away" who now dominate the school boards and of teachers and administrators "from away" who are in authority, may make it more difficult for students from traditional families to feel accepted. These traditional students become alienated and turn away from education that seems to discount their culture, thereby minimizing their chances of maximizing their own opportunities. I have only anecdotal evidence to support this, but hope to pursue this question in future work.

A by-product of being the children of parents who earn a living serving others, being subordinate, is that these children may not realize they can also create. Many students from traditional families now see futures in which they too will be dependent on serving others. Of course, we all serve each other; anyone running a business, even one that produces a product is dependent, but it seems not to occur to Maine students because it doesn't occur to their parents, They do not realize that they too can create products and compete on a state and national, even international level. There are too many examples of people "from away" who have started successful businesses to argue that this is not possible for Maine-grown entrepreneurs, because the business climate is inimicable.

Today, for example, though the village of Somesville has a wonderful new bookstore started by a woman "from away" , an organic farm also started by someone "from away", a small store selling baseball cards and some antiques,

a gas station and market, there no other enterprises, no businesses producing anything, beside the organic farm. Contrast this to the Somesville of 1870, with seven different mills, a tan-yard, a shoe-maker's shop, two ship yards, and a smoking/ salting operation for fish.

An underlying irony of this situation is that the more the state depends on tourism for sustenance, the more it sustains the market outsiders to buy property. Many visitors are so attracted to the beauty of the state , and the "simple" life it seems to offer, that they buy property, thereby making it harder for Mainers to compete for land. Every time a year-round house sells to summer people, the cultural and economic base of a village is undercut. Dependence on summer people is a short-term fix that creates very difficult long-term problems.

Another factor that impedes the ability of traditional Maine people to benefit fully from schooling is their reluctance to assume debt and invest in higher education. I have looked at this issue in depth in another paper. Let me mention briefly here that college counselors and bankers have told me that many times students turn down a full-tuition scholarship package because their parents misunderstand and think there will be some obligation to re-pay all or a part of the money. It takes very careful and patient counseling to assure these parents that the colleges want to invest in their offspring. Even then, many parents fear the loss of their child's work in the family business and what seems inevitable : that the child will move away from home to find suitable work once s/he graduates.

Unfortunately, the pettiness and gossip evident in the literature reviewed are all too familiar to someone who has lived for fifteen years in Maine villages. Too often people fear that if someone gets ahead, it is only at the expense of others. Jealousy has undermined many good projects that might have helped communities.

I hope educators in Maine will help her children find the cultural roots that gave her people great strength in the past. To do this they need to look past the recent myths to the realities and realize the past can be prologue. We must honor the value Maine people put on the "quality of life" and find ways for Maine's children to stay at home, creating ways of life to sustain themselves and this extraordinary state without dependence on being "Vacationland."

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